A Critical Discourse Analysis of Word Choices Surrounding Ethnic Identities of Sexual
Exploitation Victims and Perpetrators in Canadian Newspaper Articles

by

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Abstract

Language used in the media to depict sexually exploited youth reflects societal assumptions that manifest in the health and well-being of these young people. Using Critical discourse analysis (CDA), this study examined word choice usage in 144 Canadian newspaper articles, attending specifically to the ethnicity of the victims and the perpetrators of sexual exploitation. The purpose of the study was to examine how power placement and to gain insight into how society perceives those involved in the sexual exploitation of youth. This study utilized both quantitative and qualitative analysis strategies. The results of the CDA suggest that society identifies that the sexual exploitation of youth in Canada is a problem; however, for the most part, society is not intervening. The findings also illustrate that the ethnic identities of the victims of sexual exploitation are more frequently revealed than the perpetrators. The victims of abuse are often from minority ethnic backgrounds; however, youth from a number of countries have been exploited. The almost invisibility of the exploiters of abuse who represent positions of power and trust, and whose ethnic identities are Caucasian support the concept of white privilege being present in society’s view of the sexual exploitation of youth. The results of the CDA support the need for culturally safe and competent nursing interventions for both the victims and perpetrators of sexual exploitation.
Preface

This research study utilizes data collected by the Stigma and Resilience Among Vulnerable Youth Centre (SARAVYC) led by Dr. Elizabeth Saewyc at the University of British Columbia. This study did not require ethics approval from the University of British Columbia Research Ethics Board prior to data collection as it used publicly available data in the form of newspaper articles and the researcher obtained permission to access the database from the SARAVYC research team.
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Dedications

I have two dedications that I would like to make. I dedicate this project to my
daughter Isabella Heywood, who inspires me to be the best that I can be. I would also like to
dedicate this paper to all of the children and youth who have been victimized by sexual
exploitation. I am inspired by the strength that I have seen in those with whom I have
worked.
Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Rationale for Study Interest

I work in the emergency department at British Columbia’s Children’s Hospital (BCCH). I come into direct contact with adolescents who have histories of sexual exploitation. Their stories (when they are willing to share) make me feel nauseated, heartbroken, and helpless. I feel, as do several of my colleagues, that my care in the emergency department is not competent or efficient for these patients. Nurses in the emergency department at BCCH do not receive any education or training about sexually exploited youth. Nurses receive a brief overview of mental health issues and violence prevention, but this does not completely prepare us for the needs of exploited youth.

To my knowledge, there are few studies that examine the connection between word choice used in the media and society’s perception of sexually exploited youth. There is one study that does examine discourses about youth sexual exploitation in Canadian news media (Saewyc et.al., in press); however, it does not focus on issues of ethnicity among either exploited youth or those who exploit them. In this study, I intended to gain a better understanding of the context that surrounds the sexual exploitation of youth, the way that journalists of Canadian newspapers portray sexually exploited youth and those who exploit them, how differences in gender identity and ethnic identity are conveyed in newspapers, and reflect on how intervention programs for sexually exploited youth might be influenced by this discourse. It is my hope to use knowledge gleaned from this study to advocate for (and perhaps help develop and provide) education specific to appropriate nursing care for sexually exploited adolescents for nurses in the emergency department at BCCH.

Sexually exploited adolescents have an elevated risk of negative physical, emotional, and
mental health complications related to their experience of sexual victimization (Chettiar, Shannon, Wood, Zhang, Kerr, 2010; Edinburgh, Saewyc, Thao, Levitt, 2006; Ryan & Rivers, 2003; Castrucci & Martin, 2002). Adolescents who have experienced trauma from the stressors associated with sexual exploitation may develop altered physiological and cognitive responses (Saewyc & Edinburgh, 2010); they may also use health-compromising strategies to try to cope with that trauma, such as substance abuse, self-harm, and risky sexual practices, which can increase their risk of additional health problems. Physical health consequences from sexual exploitation can include sexually transmitted infections (STIs), Human Immunodeficiency Syndrome (HIV), hepatitis B and C, unintended or unwanted pregnancy, and injuries, (Marshall et.al., 2010; Mitchell et.al., 2010; Roy, Haley, Leclerc, Boivin, Cedras, & Vincette, 2001). The trauma can also lead to a variety of mental health issues, including post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, suicidal ideation and suicide attempts, altered or impaired cognitive development, impaired self-image, and dissociation (Wolak, Finkelhor, Mitchell, Ybarra, 2008; Edinburgh et. al.; Ryan & Rivers; Finkelhor et. al., 2001). The coping mechanisms that exploited youth turn to as a result of their physical, emotional, and psychological distress can make them more vulnerable to future exploitation, violence, and further health problems. These coping strategies may include self-mutilation, drug use, alcohol consumption, unprotected sex with multiple sexual partners, and suicide attempts (Chettiar et. al; Saewyc & Edinburgh; Ryan & Rivers; Castrucci & Martin).

These health issues provide only a glimpse into the multifaceted challenges sexually exploited youth face, but their complex health issues make their need for sensitive and supportive health care services greater. However, sexually exploited adolescents often have difficulty accessing medical care (Mitchell et. al., 2010; Garofalo, 2006).
How is sexual exploitation defined? In British Columbia, youth refers to anyone under the age of 19 years (British Columbia’s Infant Act, 2012), and sexual exploitation is the act of taking sexual advantage of a person or group of people under the age of 18 years (Canada’s Criminal Code, 2012). The sexual exploitation of youth occurs when people under the age of 18 exchange any form of sexual activity for consideration of money, alcohol or drugs, food, transportation, clothing, shelter or other consideration (Saewyc et.al, 2008). Trafficking, pornography, internet sex, and stripping may all be considered forms of youth sexual exploitation when involving persons under the age of 17 years. Any category of sexual exploitation of youth is illegal in Canada and is also highly stigmatized (Canada’s Criminal Code; Saewyc et.al.). Survival sex, or exchanging sexual acts for basic needs, falls under the umbrella of sexual exploitation (Chettiar et. al.; Mitchell, Finkelhor, Wolak, 2010). The prevalence of survival sex is much higher among homeless adolescents (Lavoie, Thibodeau, Gagne, Hebert, 2010).

Language and word choice conveyed through the newspaper are powerful forms of communication and have been proven to heavily influence society’s understanding and opinions in regards to social phenomena, such as sexual exploitation (Harding, 2006). Yet to date, there have been no A review of the literature suggests that language choices enable newspaper writers to reinforce power and privilege among individuals of a dominant ethnicity (Marshall , Shannon, Kerr, Zhang , Wood, 2010; Garofalo, Deleon, Osmer, Doll, Harper, 2006; Ryan & Rivers, 2003). Ethnicity refers to one’s racial characteristics and cultural background (Polaschek, 1998).
1.1.2 Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to critically examine how perpetrators and victims involved in the sexual exploitation of youth are described in Canadian newspaper articles. Specifically, language concerning the ethnicity of the participants of sexual exploitation was examined. I believe that it is important to be aware of the discourse used in newspaper articles as it may influence societal attitudes about the sexual exploitation of youth and the resources devoted to helping those youth who have been sexually exploited. It is also my perception that societal attitudes about youth who have been sexually exploited and the availability of interventions and resources available to help youth who have been sexually exploited has an impact on nursing practice. The media may have shaped some nurses’ attitudes about sexually exploited youth; this could directly affect the care nurses deliver to sexually exploited youth.

The objectives of this study were to:

1.) Examine how word choice used by authors in newspaper articles surrounding ethnicity empowers/disempowers the perpetrators of sexual exploitation.

2.) Examine how word choice used by authors in newspaper articles surrounding ethnicity empowers/disempowers the victims of sexual exploitation.

1.2 Literature Review

Overview of the Literature Review Process

Several different databases were used to gather articles for the literature review. There were four separate categories searched: information regarding the sexual exploitation of youth, the roles that media play in portraying the sexual exploitation of youth, information relating to critical discourse analysis, and information pertaining to the concept of white privilege. Published texts were helpful in gaining understanding and discerning the steps for critical
discourse analysis.

Databases that were primarily nursing or health focused such as the Cumulative Index to Nursing and Allied Health (CINHAL) and PubMed were a focus of the search, as were databases that had a more social science focus. The intent for searching a variety of different databases was to ensure a robust collection of literature from a range of health care disciplines. This study was completed with a nursing lens; however, nurses need to include elements of care and knowledge from several disciplines in order to ensure holistic care (Carper, 1978). There were many different individual concepts searched as each individual concept is important in understanding the complexities surrounding the sexual exploitation of youth. Example of concepts searched include: what constitutes youth sexual exploitation, risk factors for sexual exploitation, characteristics of exploiters, and health (physical, emotional, psychological, and psychosocial) associated with youth sexual exploitation. Current articles (within the last 10 years) were preferred; however, some older articles were included as they provided valuable information.

Sexual Exploitation and Law Enforcement

Adolescence is the most common age of entry into the realm of sexual exploitation (Mitchell et. al., 2010). Young women between the ages of fifteen and nineteen years are thought to be at the highest risk for sexual exploitation (Valls, Puigvert, Duque, 2008; Ferguson & Mullin, 1999); however, in British Columbia there is evidence that just as many adolescent males are sexually exploited as females (Saewyc et. al., 2008). Law enforcement agencies have been encouraged to make searching for exploiters of youth a priority; however, a survey of over 2000 police reports across the United States indicates that this is not happening (Mitchell et.al). Sexual crimes involving adolescent victims are not always perceived important enough to report because many in the general public believe the behaviors are part of being an adolescent (Finkelhor,
Furthermore, Finkelhor and colleagues pointed out that society assumes adolescents have authority figures, such as teachers or parents, who want to handle sexual situations. Underreporting youth sexual exploitation crimes to the police may help to conceal the magnitude of the problem, and the identity of the perpetrators from society, and may possibly prevent victims from accessing adequate assistance.

Risk Factors for Youth Sexual Exploitation

One of the greatest risk factors for youth being sexually exploited is a history of abuse from caregivers (Marshall et. al., 2010). In a series of surveys with 1,845 youth in British Columbia, Saewyc et.al., (2008) reported that twenty five percent of sexually exploited youth were first abused by family members. Youth who are victimized by a family member are more vulnerable to future exploitation as their personal boundaries have already been breached by a trusted adult (Saewyc et. al.). At the time of sexual exploitation adolescents may live in their family’s home, or with a person who is exploiting them, they may be homeless, they may be confined in a brothel, or they may couch surf from one form of shelter to the next (Chettiar et. al.,2010; Saewyc et. al.).

Race, sexual orientation, and social class may also affect one’s vulnerability to sexual exploitation (Jiwani, 2005). Minority and marginalized populations may have an augmented risk of sexual exploitation (Marshall et.al., 2010; Edinburgh, Saewyc, Thao, Levitt, 2006; Garofalo, Deleon, Osmer, Doll, Harper, 2006; Ryan & Rivers, 2003). Identities that put adolescents at higher risk of sexual exploitation include having a disability (Edinburgh et. al.); being gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgendered (Marshall et. al.; Garofalo et.al., Ryan & Rivers); belonging to a non-majority ethnicity that can be associated with lower socio-economic standing, such as Afro-American, Latino, Aboriginal, or Hmong (Edinburgh et. Al; Saewyc et. al., 2008; Garofalo
et. al.; Gomez & VanOss, 1996). In BC, close to one third of sexually exploited youth surveyed have identified as Aboriginal (Saewyc et. al.). Appearing and feeling different from the majority of adolescents increases the risk of stigmatization, marginalization, social isolation, and victimization for sexual minority youth (Garofalo et. al; Ryan & Rivers). Ryan & Rivers examined gender identity and self-perception amongst adolescents in both the United States and United Kingdom. They found that before some lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgendered (LGBT) adolescents fully accept their sexual orientation they go through a period of self hate; this period contributes to social isolation. Isolated and victimized adolescents are more likely to engage in risk taking behaviors including substance and alcohol abuse and unsafe sex practices which may increase their risk for sexual exploitation (Garofalo et. al; Ryan & Rivers). Time and again, LGBT adolescents fear and/or receive rejection from family members; therefore increasing the likelihood of running away and the related risk of being sexually exploited (Mitchell et. al, 2010; Edinburgh et. al).

Perpetrators of Youth Sexual Exploitation

There are very few studies that focus on those who sexually exploit adolescents, and most of what is known about them is from studies of victims. There is a diverse assortment of people who sexually abuse and exploit youth. Offenders can be family members, foster parents, friends, romantic partners, police, casual acquaintances, or strangers (Saewyc et. al., 2008). Perpetrators of sexual exploitation can be referred to as boyfriends, pimps, tricks, or dates by their victims (Saewyc et al). Perpetrators may find sexual exploitation a profitable form of oppression (Hoigard & Finsted, 1986). Both males and females sexually exploit adolescents (Saewyc et. al.). Two studies that focused on adults convicted of sexually exploiting children and adolescents in North America found that many of the perpetrators of sexual exploitation suffered physical,
sexual, and emotional abuse as a child (Casey, Beadnell, Lindhorst, 2008; Monto, Zgourides, Harris, 1998).

White Privilege and Power in Association with Youth Exploitation

The phenomenon of power holds different meanings to different people. Power creates asymmetrical relationships in that some people have more than others (Thornborrow, 2002). According to Foucault (1980), power reveals social truth and is observable at every level of social interaction. Although it may seem natural and acceptable, power shapes society’s social perceptions, thought process, and preferences (Hall, 1982). Societal classification is multifaceted. Classification involves power; however, people may have different levels of power depending on the situation (Allen, 2006; Cameron, Frazer, Harvey, Rampton, Richardson, 1992). Differentiating between ethnicity is a considerable form of classification involving power (Allen, 2006).

The word privilege confers permission to dominate and control because of one’s sex, race, age, or social position (McIntosh, 1988). White privilege encompasses the advantages, opportunities, and benefits white people receive merely because of their skin color (Donnelly et.al., 2005). Advantages associated with white privilege include easier access to high quality education, more secure finances, work environments and career opportunities, health care, housing, and child rearing (Feagin & Vera, 1995). White people are almost never aware of their own skin color and are often oblivious to the concept of white privilege (Donnelly et al.). When white people are taught about racism they are given the impression that all other races are at a disadvantage and furthermore do not recognize white as a race (McIntosh, 1988). White privilege subconsciously oppresses people of color (Donnelly et al.). For example, adolescents from minority ethnic backgrounds are more likely than their white peers to be socially isolated
and consequently are at increased risk for sexual exploitation (Edinburgh et. al., 2006; Jiwani, 2005). The power associated with gender and ethnicity can affect the ability to advocate for safe sex practices (Gomez & Van Oss Marin, 1996); this puts youth of minority ethnicities at an elevated risk of the negative health outcomes associated with unsafe sex practices.

Language is a social phenomenon (Thronborrow, 2002). Language is also an important form of power by creating particular subject positions for population groups to occupy (Althusser, 1971). Individual words and the sequencing of words together to form sentences can carry power (McGregor, 2003), and words have different connotations for different populations and cultural groups (McGregor). Language can be used to create social identities, social relationships, social order, and social prejudices (Jaworski & Coupland, 1994; Fairclough, 1992; Lee, 1992). Language styles and language application are frequently associated with predetermined ethnic stereotypes (Murray, 1991). English is the most widely spoken language by white people; English is the language used for international conversation and most all international business affairs (Gotti, 2002; Murray). Therefore English may be considered a powerful and dominant language.

Barthes (1973) terms the process of identifying factors about one subset and not another in order to produce the social relations of domination as exnomination. An example of this in terms of sexual exploitation in the news might be highlighting the ethnicity of the victims of sexual exploitation but not the ethnicity of the perpetrators, so readers either believe that the perpetrators are of a dominant and powerful ethnicity, or forget about the perpetrators entirely.

**Power and News Media**

The power of language is strongly demonstrated through news media. Language communicated via the news media seamlessly creates homogeneous labels about certain people
or population groups (Davis & Puckett, 1992). In Canada, news media is a key contributor in promoting racist ideology and preserving white dominance (Harding, 2006). Newspaper articles are generally directed toward white and majority audiences; therefore, news media can imply racism towards minority populations as power is given to majority populations (Harding). The written news is the most influential form of news (Bell, 1991). Newspapers, whether in print or on-line, make use of writing tactics that confer power and consequently may reinforce isolation, discrimination, and silencing of the population of focus (Myrick, 1998). Frequently, news journalists seem to present information as comprehensive coverage about a story, including their own research, public opinions, government policy, and political platforms, but fail to include the perspectives of the minority population (Rankine & McCreanor 2004). Furthermore, it may be pertinent to question not only the source of the news writers’ information but also its validity and reliability (Fairclough, 1992). Placing undue power for or against certain groups based on small amounts of unreliable information unjustly discriminates against less powerful population groups (Rankine & McCreanor). Newspaper journalists do not write articles, they write stories; however these stories mark important societal experiences and can heavily influence the readers’ opinions. These stories also are incomplete, due to lack of physical space; in other words, the readers may be given the initial viewpoints, but not all the information necessary to make an informed decision (Bell). The editors of newspapers make the final decisions in regards to story length and also create the headlines; editors may not be aware of the full context of the story and thus remove important elements (Bell). Personal background knowledge, socio-cultural influence, assumptions, and attitudes all greatly influence the interpretation of news stories (Grumperz, 1982). For the most part, however, people who read newspapers are hesitant to question journalists’ opinions and view points, and thus passively accept the information and
flow of power expressed (McGregor, 2003).

Society’s attitudes about the sexual exploitation of youth have the potential to be heavily influenced by the news media (Harwood & Anderson, 2002). For example, the term delinquent has often been associated with adolescence (Chesney-Lind, 1989). Furthermore, when the term delinquent has been used in newspapers, it has been used to convey the adolescent as the root of the problem, and fails to consider sources for the adolescent’s behavior (Chesney-Lind). The sexual exploitation of adolescents seems to be seen by society as delinquent behavior that is carried out by teenage runaways and street youth, instead of under the umbrella of illegal commercial sexual exploitation that is abuse (Mitchell et.al., 2010). Sexually exploited youth thus have the potential to be mislabeled as delinquents in society (Mitchell et. al.). A picture of a young girl in provocative clothing soliciting customers on the street corner is commonly associated with the concept of sexually exploited youth, and that girl is often presumed to be homeless (Mitchell et.al; Saewyc et. al., 2008).

Society’s perception of the sexual exploitation of youth affects the development and availability of resources for accessible intervention programs. Sexually exploited youth may not understand what is happening to them is abuse, and illegal; the youth may not even realize they are being exploited and thus may not know how to access help (Saewyc et. al., 2008). Intervention and treatment programs exist for the victims of sexual exploitation, but they are limited in location or scope, and may discriminate against particular populations. For example, sexually exploited youth may be turned away from shelters or transition housing because of substance use (Saewyc et.al.) There are even fewer interventions and treatment options for the perpetrators of sexual exploitation (Moore et al., 1999). The lack of available interventions for victims or perpetrators of sexual exploitation may be directly influenced by the discursive
strategies used by newspaper writers when reporting sexual exploitation.

*Nurses and Sexually Exploited Youth*

Street nurses, public health nurses, and nurses who work in the emergency departments of pediatric and adult based emergency rooms are in direct contact with sexually exploited adolescents. In a survey among street youth in BC, sexually exploited youth identified both street nurses and other nurses as helpful people (Saewyc et. al., 2008). Therefore, if these teens are willing to come to nurses for help and support, it is paramount that nurses have the knowledge and training to provide efficient and appropriate nursing care. Nurses need to be able to understand the context surrounding sexual exploitation among their patients, particularly during the first clinical encounter, in order to deliver suitable care (Saewyc et.al.). Sexually exploited youth may identify as heterosexual, bisexual, lesbian, gay, or transgendered, and they may also come from different family, cultural, and socio-economic backgrounds. Each subset of sexual and ethnic minority adolescents has different vulnerabilities, needs, risk and protective factors than the other adolescents (Ryan & Rivers, 2003). Nurses are generally well respected and trusted members of society (Ateah et. al., 2011). This places nurses in an opportune position to work to raise awareness and to bring about change in society’s perceptions about sexually exploited youth (Saewyc, Solsvig, Endinburgh, 2007). Nurses are in a position to advocate for interventions and to campaign for community support (Saewyc et.al, 2007). Nurses have the ability to remind society that no matter how sexual exploitation of youth is depicted in the news, it is illegal.

According to Phillips and Henderson (1999) in their research focusing on the relationship between how violence is discussed and society’s view, the way that people talk about an issue reflects the way that people think about an issue. Therefore, it is easy for newspaper writers to
exert power, prejudice, influence, and one sided opinion through headlines, word choice, sentence structure, and writing style. Newspapers have a history of being sensitive and accurate predictors of social process, social movement, and social diversity; therefore, analysis of newspaper articles can provide good insight into social change and the reconstruction of social identities, social knowledge, and social ideologies (Fairclough, 1992). The careful analysis of key terms used in newspaper articles can reveal the writer’s point of view and subsequently the views readers may hold; reporters may set the tone for how a social phenomenon is viewed within a particular society or reflect the views already present (Bondi, 2005). However, there has been only one study of how Canadian newspapers describe sexually exploited youth (Saewyc, et al, in press), and that study did not examine how ethnicity of victims or exploiters has been portrayed.
Chapter 2: Research Design and Methodology

2.1.1 Research Questions

This study examined two questions:

1.) How does word choice used in Canadian newspaper articles surrounding ethnicity appear to empower/disempower the perpetrators of sexual exploitation? and

2.) How does word choice used in Canadian newspaper articles surrounding ethnicity appear to empower/disempower the victims of sexual exploitation?

2.1.2 Methodology

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is used by researchers who are interested in the distribution and reproduction of power in relation to a societal phenomenon (Fairclough, 1995). According to Palmquist (1999), CDA does not offer solutions to problems; however, it does allow readers to comprehend the conditions surrounding the problem. The focus of this CDA was to carefully examine and analyze newspaper texts in order to reveal both the written and underlying sources of power, bias, prejudice, and inequality in relation to the ethnicity of the victims and perpetrators of youth sexual exploitation (Teo, 2000; Van Dijk, 1988). CDA can be both a qualitative and quantitative research method that permits the researcher to investigate power relations within written text (McGregor, 2003). The quantitative element in this research study examined how often the ethnicity of the perpetrators of sexual exploitation was mentioned in the articles, along with the most common words chosen to describe their ethnicity, as opposed to mentions about the ethnicity of the victims of sexual exploitation, to help determine how the exploiters’ status or power within society might be conveyed in the news stories, while the qualitative element focused on the ways the news stories were structured and the meaning conveyed by the wording. CDA was an effective method for examining reports of sexual
exploitation in the newspapers because the approach enabled me to document and critically evaluate different uses of words and consequential shifts in power that were suggested (Harding, 2006). Through this CDA, I explored how the portrayal of victims’ and perpetrators’ ethnicity in the news might perpetuate power and oppression. Lamb (1991) describes problematic writing as that which obscures the readers’ view of the social group being discussed; in terms of sexual exploitation, one type of problematic writing might obscure perpetrators’ responsibilities for their actions. CDA provides a way to identify problematic writing and the consequences that could result from the discursive strategies used to describe victims and perpetrators of sexual exploitation.

2.2 Data Sources

I used newspaper articles that were already collected for a larger discourse analysis project focusing on the sexual exploitation of youth in the media (Saewyc, et al., in press). Local, regional and national Canadian newspaper articles published between the years of 1989 and 2008 were retrieved using the Canadian Newstand index. The news articles were limited to those from newspapers published within Canada; however the actual events of youth exploitation described could have happened in any location. Key words and search terms that were used to generate this database are listed in Table 1. Data saturation was achieved when articles that were already identified began to reoccur. Newspaper articles with identical information were accepted if the articles were published in different papers across the country, as these articles were anticipated to represent unique communication for a particular location and to represent a wider audience. (Stigma and Resilience Among Vulnerable Youth Centre (SARAVYC, 2011).

This study did not require ethics approval from the University of British Columbia
Research Ethics Board prior to data collection as it used publicly available data in the form of newspaper articles and the researcher obtained permission to access the database from the SARAVYC research team.

**Table 1: Key Words and Search Terms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adolescent, Adolescence, Youth, Teenager, Teen, Child, Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child Prostitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Exploitation &amp; terms for youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitution &amp; terms for youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex trade &amp; terms for youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex work &amp; terms for youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brothels &amp; terms for youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trafficking &amp; terms for youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pornography &amp; terms for youth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: SARAVYC, 2011

2.2.1 Sample

The Stigma And Resilience Among Vulnerable Youth Centre research team collected 835 Canadian newspaper articles for their discourse analysis project. Among these, 144 newspaper articles identified the ethnicity of the victims and/or the perpetrators of sexual exploitation, and only these newspaper articles were used for this critical discourse analysis.

2.2.2 Data Analysis Strategies

Because of the large number of sources, this critical discourse analysis involved both
quantitative and qualitative analytical strategies. An excel spreadsheet was used to help organize the quantitative data. The quantitative element involved comparing the number of newspaper articles that involved references to ethnicity as well as the ethnic terms. The 144 newspaper articles were first reviewed to determine the number of times (a) the ethnicity of the victims of sexual exploitation was mentioned within the articles, (b) the ethnicity of the perpetrators of sexual exploitation was mentioned within the articles, and (c) a comparison of victim versus perpetrator ethnicity counts. Any words used to describe/indicate ethnicity were counted. The words used to describe ethnicity were initially sorted into two categories: direct identification of ethnicity and other words for identifying ethnicity (Bondi, 2005). Initially, this comparative process was done separately for the victims of sexual exploitation and for the perpetrators. These comparisons were described in both counts and percentages and displayed in a table in order to enhance visual understanding (Munro, 2005). Assessing the number of times the ethnicity of the victims of sexual exploitation were identified in the newspaper articles compared to the perpetrators of sexual exploitation helped determination whether newspaper journalists (consciously or unconsciously) used the process of exnomination (Barthes, 1973). These comparisons also helped show if and how the journalists might have tried to influence readers’ point of view about sexual exploitation of youth (Bondi, 2005).

Next, the word choices used to describe the ethnicity of perpetrators and victims of sexual exploitation were analyzed qualitatively within the context of the stories. ‘Code words’ (euphemisms or indirect descriptions that place people into general categories) are often used to talk about populations in newspapers; however, they effectively remove identifying factors from that population (Phillips & Henderson, 1999). I examined whether or not the journalists directly identified the ethnicity of victims or exploiters, or used code words, potentially influencing
power placement.

The number of articles in which the author utilized stereotyping language to describe the ethnicity of the victim or exploiter were also counted and compared. The words for describing ethnicity were further divided into four categories: identification by color, identification by being placed in a ‘majority’ ethnic category, identification by being placed in a ‘minority’ ethnic category, and identification with stereotyping words or phrases. Stereotyping words or phrases were further evaluated as having a positive, neutral, or derogatory connotation. Keeping consistent with the previous step, this evaluating process was done separately for the victims of sexual exploitation and the perpetrators. A table displaying the stereotyping words used to describe the ethnicities of the victims and perpetrators is included. It was the hope that the above comparisons helped to identify where the journalists of the Canadian newspaper articles may have intentionally or subconsciously placed power, and if white privilege is exemplified through word choice. Themes identified from the data were gathered and examined to help consider the link between those word choices and society’s perception of the sexual exploitation of youth.

This evaluation of words used to describe ethnic identities and the structure of articles was conducted using Huckin’s (1997) steps of CDA analysis. The articles were first read in a relaxed and easy manner in order to gleam the main ideas being presented. The articles were then re-read with a more critical eye. During that second read, I examined whose point of view was being presented. In doing this I explored whether or not the journalist ever included the perspectives of either the exploited youth or the exploiter, or if the voices and perspectives were from authorities or solely the journalist presenting information (Harding, 2006; Huckin). This was primarily done by looking for quotes or the evidence of interviews from either the victims of the exploiters. Huckin refers to this second step as framing the details into a coherent whole. It
was important to examine the use of code words in combination with sentence structure as the structuring of sentences can easily suggest information about power flow (Huckin). The modality or tone of the text was also appraised; the modality of the text reflects the degree of authority in the text by the use of specific words (Huckin). Identifying the modality of the text helped reveal the underlying assumptions of the journalist, what population group is favored, and where the placement of power lay (Harding).
Chapter 3: Results

3.1 Quantitative Analysis of Critical Discourse Analysis Results

There were 144 Canadian newspaper articles originally included in this critical discourse analysis as having been coded that they mentioned ethnicity of either victim or perpetrator. Five of the articles were subsequently removed from the sample because they did not make reference to the ethnicity of the victims nor the perpetrators of sexual exploitation. There were articles that were repeated in more than one newspaper source; the articles that appeared identically in more than one newspaper source were all included as unique articles because they reached different geographical regions and thus quite possibly a different audience. Therefore, the number of newspaper articles analyzed was 139. It is also pertinent to recognize that the events of the sexual exploitation of youth encapsulated in the newspaper articles did not only occur in Canada. The results of this study are categorized into seven main/key findings.

*The Ethnicity of the Victims of Sexual Exploitation was Identified More Frequently than the Perpetrators*

The ethnicity of the victim was over seven times more likely to have been identified in the newspaper articles than the exploiter’s ethnicity. There were 105 (75.5%) newspaper articles in which the journalist explicitly identified the ethnicity of the victims of sexual exploitation, compared to only 14 (10.1%) newspaper articles in which the journalist identified the ethnicity of the perpetrators of sexual exploitation. Only eight (5.8%) newspaper articles identified the ethnicity of both the victims and perpetrators of sexual exploitation.

In several newspaper articles, the writer did not directly identify the ethnicity of the victim and/or perpetrator of sexual exploitation. Instead, the journalist identified the country that the victim and/or perpetrator came from, or the country in which the exploitation took place.
This implied the ethnicity of the victims and/or perpetrators of sexual exploitation. There were 26 (18.7%) newspaper articles that had the writer mention the country the victim of sexual exploitation came from or where the victim was exploited. In 23 (16.5%) newspaper articles, the country that the perpetrator of sexual exploitation came from was mentioned. There were 16 newspaper articles (11.5%) in which the author stated the country of origin for both parties of sexual exploitation.

Combining indirect mentions as well as the explicit identification, 131 (94.2%) newspaper articles provided information about the ethnicity of the victims of sexual exploitation as compared to only 37 (26.6%) newspaper articles that provided information about the ethnicity of the perpetrators of sexual exploitation. Therefore, it was three and a half times more common for information regarding the ethnicity of the victim of sexual exploitation to be directly or indirectly suggested in articles. There were 30 (21.6%) newspaper articles that provided information regarding the ethnicity of both victims and exploiters.

Ethnic terms were used 438 times across the 139 articles (excluding stereotyping terms or color references, which will be described separately). There were 382 uses of ethnic terms referring to the victims of sexual exploitation (87.2% of all mentions). In comparison, there were only 45 (10.3%) uses ethnic terms in reference to the perpetrators. Table 2 illustrates the comparison of ethnic terms used in reference to the victims of sexual exploitation versus the perpetrators of sexual exploitation. It also lists all of the ethnicities identified in the newspaper articles.
Table 2: Comparison of the Frequency of the Use of Ethnic Terms (Alphabetically)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Victim</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Perpetrator</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>(438 terms)</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>(438 terms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>51.1%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.68%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.23%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Nation</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous, Indian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.68%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.23%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.46%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.23%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Métis, Inuit, Cree</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>20.7%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.23%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South African</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.46%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Asian</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.46%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thai</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.23%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aboriginal and Native are the Most Frequently Identified Ethnicities

Identities referring to Aboriginal or Indigenous ethnicity were the most common ethnic
identities found across all of the newspaper articles analyzed, and the ethnic identity most repeated throughout newspaper articles. ‘Aboriginal’ accounted for 224 mentions (51.1%) of ethnicity in the articles, and ‘native’ was used 100 times, (20.7%), and First Nations occurred seven times (1.6%). Below is an example describing the large number of Aboriginal youth who are perceived to be involved in sexual exploitation.

The illicit nature of the sex trade made it difficult for the researchers to put a number on how many Aboriginal youths are involved. They estimate thousands are trapped in it, and can be found in virtually every Canadian city or town. In some communities, as many as 90 per cent of those involved in the sex trade are Aboriginal. (Star Phoenix, 2000, p.A6)

Some other ethnic terms used that refer to Aboriginal populations include Métis, Indigenous, Indian, Inuit, and Cree; together, these terms were used ten different times (2.3%). Thus, 341 (77.9%) of the 438 ethnic terms used were terms to refer to Aboriginal people.

The most commonly identified ethnicity for victims of sexual exploitation was Aboriginal. From the 105 newspaper articles that identified the ethnicity of the victims of sexual exploitation 86 articles (81.9%) mentioned Aboriginal victims, 40 articles (38.1%) reported victims as ‘Native,’ and seven (6.7%) reported victims to be ‘First Nations.’ Perpetrators of sexual exploitation were far less likely to be identified as Aboriginal compared to the victims. Of the 14 newspaper articles that provided the ethnicity of the perpetrators, three (21.4%) stated that the perpetrator was First Nations, and two (14.3%) reported the perpetrator to be Aboriginal. Furthermore, when the newspaper journalist identified the victim as coming from an Aboriginal background, they were more likely to repeat the ethnicity of the victim several times throughout the article. When the newspaper writer identified the ethnicity of the perpetrator, they usually only stated the ethnicity once in the article. In some articles journalists did not directly identify
the perpetrator of sexual exploitation as Aboriginal, but through word choice in the sentences
the reader could deduce that the exploiters were Aboriginal. For example, in a news paper article
that focused on the cycle of exploitation within the Aboriginal population, the reporter referred
to “the parents of a nine-year-old girl pocketing some of the money she makes from turning
tricks.” (The Globe and Mail, 2000, p. A3)

As another example, Cherry Kingsley, an Aboriginal advocate for preventing sexual
exploitation of Aboriginal youth, shared one of her own family memories:

"My sister was sexually abused from the time she was very young and my
stepdad used to beat me up all the time. He locked me in closets sometimes
for like 16 hours at a time . . . (or he'd lock) me down in the basement with no
food or water or blankets or lights on," (Toronto Star, 2000, p. D3)
### Table 3: Ethnicities of the Victims of Sexual Exploitation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Number of Articles</th>
<th>Percent that Mention</th>
<th>Percent that Mention</th>
<th>Percent out of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(105)</td>
<td>(139)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>81.9%</td>
<td>61.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>38.1%</td>
<td>28.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Nations</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Métis</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inuit/Indigenous/Cree</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean, South Korean</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.95%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.95%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.95%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.95%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.95%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.95%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikh</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.95%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.95%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Most Common Perpetrator Ethnicity is Caucasian

Either through direct mention in the article or through photo identification accompanying the article, perpetrator ethnicity was most frequently identified as Caucasian. Japanese ethnicity was overtly mentioned in one more article than was Caucasian; however, there were 13 (9.4%) newspaper articles where the ethnicity of the perpetrator was not identified but accompanying photos revealed them to likely be Caucasian. In the stories where the perpetrators appeared to be Caucasian but their ethnicity was not included in the newspaper article, they were commonly persons in positions of trust and/or power, such as a court judge, teachers, and a professional baseball player. There were seven newspaper articles that identified a Caucasian perpetrator and a victim of a different ethnicity.
Table 4: Ethnicities of the Perpetrators of Sexual Exploitation (not including photo identification)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Number of Articles</th>
<th>Percent that Mention Perpetrator</th>
<th>Percent out of Ethnicity (14)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian/White</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>34.7%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>34.7%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Nation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indo-Asian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thai</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Perpetrators of Sexual Exploitation Come from High Income Countries

In the articles where the author indicated the country that the perpetrator originated from, the majority of countries identified were high income countries. There were 23 articles where the reporter pointed out the perpetrators’ country of origin and/or where the exploitation took place. Of these 23 newspaper articles, American perpetrators were identified in 15 (65.2%) and Canadian exploiters were also identified in 15 articles. Australian and British perpetrators were included along with exploiters from other European and western countries, as, for example, the following quote:

Many of the men who make up the demand in child prostitution come from wealthy, democratic countries such as the Netherlands, Germany, the United Kingdom, the United States and Australia, according to Ambassador John Miller, director of the State Department's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons. (*Leader Post*, 2004, p. G7)

There were few articles in which the journalist identified perpetrators coming from lower income countries. In seven newspaper articles (30.4%) journalists mentioned exploiters came from Asian countries, but the individual countries were not specified. In one newspaper article (6.3%) the writer said the perpetrator originated from Kenya.

There were several newspaper articles that described people from higher income countries either travelling to or taking temporary work in lower income countries and then exploiting children in that country. When the perpetrators worked in lower income countries, they often worked in trusted positions, such as teachers. There were 13 newspaper articles describing exploiters a high income country and victims from a lower income country. The following quote is an example:

Pedophiles have been thronging to Southeast Asia for decades, drawn by the warm weather, smiling people and ready supply of pretty, available young

There were acknowledgements in the newspaper articles that exploiting children in foreign countries is also wrong; however, few of the exploiters identified received any form of legal consequences or punishment.

**Table 5: Perpetrator Country of Origin/Location Where Exploitation Occurred**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of Articles</th>
<th>Percent out of Articles that Mention Perpetrator Country (23)</th>
<th>Percent out of Total Articles Analyzed (139)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Americans/United</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>65.2%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>States</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadians/Canada</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>65.2%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian Countries</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British/Britain (English &amp; Scottish)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australians/Australia</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German/Germany</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westerners</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frenchman</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Victims of Sexual Exploitation Are Everywhere

The newspaper articles showed victims of sexual exploitation were not primarily from one country, but have been identified in many different countries around the world. According to former U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, “Trafficking and exploitation plague all nations, and no country, even ours, is immune,” (2008). There were 28 newspaper articles where the writers mentioned the victims’ country of origin or where they were exploited. The majority of countries identified were lower income countries such as Thailand (35.7%) and Cambodia (28.6%), which were two of the most commonly identified countries where children and youth were sexually exploited. Canadian youth were identified in nine (32.1%) of the newspaper articles. It is difficult to know the exact ethnicity of the Canadian youth; in some of the newspaper articles, however, the focus was on Aboriginal youth.

A child sex trade exists everywhere in Canada, from large cities to remote logging camps. It happens in places that are too small even to have a name. (Alaska Highway News, 2000, p.5)

Although many of the writers of the articles identified the victims of sexual exploitation to be female, there were several articles that mentioned adolescent males are also exploited:

Most young male prostitutes being sexually exploited on Alberta streets are runaways who turned their first trick in exchange for food and shelter and will turn "gay for pay," concluded a report released Wednesday. As well, a stunning 54 per cent of the male prostitutes interviewed were from an Aboriginal culture (Calgary Herald, 2005, p.B7).

There were 25 countries identified as countries of origin and/or places where youth victims were exploited within the 28 articles. These countries are listed in the table on the following page.
Table 6: Victim Country of Origin/Location Where Exploitation Occurred

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of Articles</th>
<th>Percent that Mention Victim Country (28)</th>
<th>Percent out of Total Articles Analyzed (139)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>35.7%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada/Canadian</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>32.1%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodia/Cambodian</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28.6%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia, Southeast Asia</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa/African</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe, Russia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caribbean</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Color References and Stereotyping Terms Were More Commonly Used for the Victims of Sexual Exploitation than for Exploiters

There were only a small number of reporters that used color references or stereotyping terms to describe the ethnic identities of those involved in sexual exploitation, but such terms were three times more likely to be used in reference to victims than in reference to perpetrators. There were 13 articles (9.4%) where the author used either a color reference or stereotyping term in regards to the ethnic identity of the victims or perpetrators of sexual exploitation; of these, 13 articles used such a term in reference to the ethnic identity of victims, and only and four articles used a color reference or stereotyping term about perpetrators of exploitation.

Below is an example of a referral to skin color that was also interpreted as a derogatory context:

A notice on the Internet was brought to my attention recently. It stated that one didn't have to go to Thailand for "little brown girls" but instead could go to Saskatoon. (*Star Phoenix*, 2000, p. A15)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Used</th>
<th>Number of Articles</th>
<th>Percent out of Articles Using Color Reference/Stereotyping Terms (13)</th>
<th>Percent out of Total Articles Analyzed (139)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-native/ Aboriginal</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30.8%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>counterparts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30.8%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addicted youth</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little blonde girls</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red hair</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown bodies</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children of color</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little brown girls</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other backgrounds</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gay teen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvestite</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8: Color Reference and/or Stereotypical Terms Used in Reference to Perpetrator Ethnicity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Used</th>
<th>Number of Articles</th>
<th>Percent of articles using Color reference/Stereotyping terms (4)</th>
<th>Percent out of Total Articles Analyzed (139)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Skins</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blonde Hair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2 Qualitative Analysis of Critical Discourse Analysis Results

Key words are central words that are used in written text to help highlight the text’s main subjects of focus; key words can be very influential in the interpretation of newspaper articles (Bondi, 2005). Quantitative measurement is one way of recognizing key words (Phillips, 1989). For example this analysis showed the ethnicity of the victims of sexual exploitation was six times more likely to be identified than the exploiters; it was also common for the ethnicity of the victims to be repeated throughout the newspaper articles, but perpetrators’ ethnicity mentioned only once, if at all. In the majority of the newspaper articles, there were more distinguishing characteristics described about victims’ identities, therefore, making the victims’ ethnicity the main focus of any discussion.

The idea of key words focusing on the victims of sexual exploitation and revealing their ethnicities supports Barthes’ process of exnomination (1973) as the readers’ focus is on the visual characteristics of the victims and not the exploiters. This may inadvertently give more power to the perpetrators, because the readers’ attention is directed toward the victims and not
the perpetrators, which help the exploiters remain invisible. Newspaper readers are better able to develop pictures of victims; the visual images of the perpetrators in most of the newspaper stories remain vague or completely unknown. Does this persuade the reader to think that the responsibility for dealing with acts of sexual exploitation resides more with the victims and the ethnic groups they come from as identified in the newspaper articles? Although the overall use of stereotyping words and color references was low, negative word choices for ethnicity were three times more common when referring to victim identity than to perpetrator identity. Does this take away power from the victims of sexual exploitation because the stereotyping words and color references taint the visual images of the victims?

*Key Words and the Messages Conveyed*

The use of key words in newspaper articles can help point to the opinion of the writer (Bondi, 2005). It is important to look at the word choice and sentence structure surrounding key words to help evaluate the writer’s standpoint (Bondi). Language styles and uses may be associated with pre-determined ethnic stereotypes (Murray, 1991). In most of the articles, the victims were presented as the focal point of the problem of sexual exploitation, and as being powerless to resolve their own situation. The information about the victims came mostly in the words of the reporters; very few journalists included direct quotes from victims. Many of the newspaper articles lacked suggestions for interventions, or community involvement in interventions, suggesting that society may also feel powerless to resolve the situation.

As an example, journalist Erica Haug shared her opinion on the lack of community involvement in the following comment:

> How insensitive we are to how much discrimination hurts our children, in a society that pays more attention to animals than to our children. *(Star Phoenix, 2003, p A17).*
Furthermore, key words can help trigger emotional responses in readers; the emotional response evoked by the key words can be either positive or negative, and depends on the reader’s interpretation of the newspaper article, the reader’s personality, class, and value system (Bondi, 2005; Plantin, 1999). Some people who read stories about the sexual exploitation of youth may find it emotionally upsetting to acknowledge that exploitation is widespread, and may prefer to believe that it does not exist. Other readers may believe that the sexual exploitation of youth only occurs to impoverished youth. Journalist Richard Estes explained, “the sexual abuse of children is common in rich as well as poor countries, and it cuts across class lines.” (Calgary Herald, 2006, p A11) In order to establish successful interventions, society must be aware that the sexual exploitation of youth is common across Canada, especially in major cities like Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal (Hay, 2004).

Demand is so high that trafficking in women and children is now a more lucrative underground trade than drugs. It doesn't just happen in countries like India, Thailand, China or Brazil. It's happening here [Vancouver]. (The Vancouver Sun, 2003, p.C3).

A recurring theme noticed was that the reporter was more likely to indicate the country the perpetrator originated from, but not directly identifying the perpetrator’s ethnicity. In countries as multicultural as Canada and the United States, this serves to conceal the perpetrators’ ethnic identities. It raises question as to whether this writing technique was intentional or not. Is the newspaper writer trying to protect the perpetrator’s identity, or are they trying to place onus on the country of the perpetrator? Or, is the journalist concentrating on conveying the information that they have collected, and since the majority of their information is about the victims, so is the majority of their story?
Canada has legislation to prosecute citizens who abuse children overseas; since 2002, it's only been used twice.  
(*Toronto Star*, 2007, p. A2)

Perrin stated: “[T]hat many child-sex tourists are taking a vacation from the laws of their own country, and likely wouldn't commit the same crime at home.”  
(*Canadian Press Newswire*, 2007)

Both of these quotes may be interpreted as calls for intervention; both of these quotes also represent the power imbalance between higher income and lower income countries.

Farclough (1992) & Van Dijk (1993) claimed that some people have power and others do not; additionally, the allocation of power is determined by people’s socio-economic status, their career, gender, and ethnicity. Often the exploiters who were identified as Caucasian were in positions of trust and power; these positions included a court judge, teachers, and a professional baseball player. For example, one article about exploitation in BC pointed out, " ‘Every day, people in positions of power are purchasing sex from children in Prince George,’ said Krause”  
(*Prince George Citizen*, 2007, p1). Another article stated:  

> We have guys that hold some pretty powerful positions. To see them in these powerful positions and then going after children, it makes you disgusted. They're pigs. (*Leader Post*, 2005, p. A1)

There were significantly fewer newspaper articles that revealed the ethnicity of the perpetrators of the sexual exploitation of youth in comparison to the victims. It seems reasonable to question why their ethnicities were so rarely identified. Did the newspaper journalists know the ethnicities of the perpetrators but chose not to include them in their story, or were their ethnic backgrounds truly unknown? Does this support Bathes’ (1973) idea that the perpetrators of sexual exploitation acquire power through remaining virtually invisible? It is difficult for the justice system to intervene and remove dangerous people when their identities are invisible.
There were only five newspaper stories that openly identified a Caucasian perpetrator exploiting a non-Caucasian victim. There were thirteen newspaper articles in which the ethnicity of the perpetrator was not identified, but photos revealed them to be Caucasian. Doug Cuthand reported, in reference to the Aboriginal population, that “[r]ight now, the majority of customers are white males who see our people as cheap and subhuman” (*Star Phoenix*, 2000, p. A15, ). The rare mention of exploiters in the newspaper articles, combined with Caucasian being the most commonly mentioned ethnicity of exploiters, supported also by photo identification, supports the premise that white privilege may play a role in the sexual exploitation of youth. White privilege encompasses the advantages, opportunities, and benefits white people receive merely because of their skin color (Donnelly et.al., 2005). The advantage the Caucasian exploiters get is anonymity, and lack of identification in the newspaper articles, which then reflects the lack of interruption to their everyday lives.

You have to be very careful but I think you can buy your way out of it fairly easily if you are caught. I've heard it can cost ($750). You don't make a fuss and it's between you and them in a small room. (*The Ottawa Citizen*, 2002, p. A13)

The invisibility and absence of consequences for exploiters in the discourse of newspaper articles may give white exploiters the pretense that their actions are somewhat acceptable, and consequently may reinforce it is okay to continue to exploit youth. Furthermore, Caucasian perpetrators may assume that some of their practices of exploiting ethnic minorities is the norm, and that perhaps a different form of exploitation, for example, a Latin American exploiting a Caucasian youth, is deviant (Donnelly et. al., 2005). This may be why the newspaper articles analyzed made Canadian, American, and British people travelling to lower income countries to exploit children sound like common practice.
Segregation is one of the top privileges associated with being white (Williams & Collins, 2001). Being white holds a specific standpoint from which to view the world; therefore, people from different cultures view the worlds from different standpoints (Gustafson, 2007). To help illustrate the power that is often associated with white skin, Jane Runner shared:

Many of those cars were flashy, expensive ones. Even Cadillacs. Some of these men obviously came to my neighborhood from the better-heeled areas of town. There were professionals, old men, young men, fat men, athletic men. A few had baby seats in their back seats, or were brave enough to drive business vehicles. (*Winnipeg Free Press*, 2007, p. A11)

There were no articles analyzed where the writer identified a Caucasian perpetrator exploiting a Caucasian youth. This also supports the notion of power being attached to white skin. In reference to who is exploiting youth in Regina, a safety services worked explained that “most of the men are young, married and white” (Pruden, *Leader Post*, 2005 p.A1). This finding was further supported by examples found across other articles, such as:

It seems to me all those guys driving in from the suburbs around Winnipeg in their Honda Civics to screw Cree girls working the stroll are guilty of procurement. (*Star Phoenix*, 1998, p.A1)

This form of white privilege related to Caucasian perpetrators and ethnic minority victims, or victims from lower income countries, is clearly a form of racism. This was demonstrated in this CDA by significantly fewer articles identifying the ethnicity of the exploiters than the victims, only one article calling for action against perpetrators, and the majority of the articles centered on describing the victims without any discussion of advocacy or intervention. It appears that racism and white privilege may subconsciously make it seem okay for Caucasian people in positions of power to exploit those from different ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds, because the newspaper writers do not call any attention to them. It
is difficult to motivate society to help put a stop to the sexual exploitation of youth if they do not know who the perpetrators are or if they have the idea that this sort of exploitation is an acceptable occurrence because of how it is presented in the newspapers.

White privilege and racism in reference to sexual exploitation of youth also was described within articles about lower income countries where Caucasian people from high income countries either vacationed or secured jobs as teachers and exploited children in those countries.

The accents are all familiar: American, Canadian, Australian, Japanese and British voices are all well represented among the patrons of the shanty whorehouses (The Ottawa Citizen, 2002, p.A13).

There were thirteen newspaper articles that openly identified perpetrators from high income countries exploiting victims from low income countries. “Caucasian men embark on sex tours to Bangkok to prey upon Thailand`s child prostitutes” (Michael Clarkson & Rick Monifa, Calgary Herald, 1993, p. A18) was one example, “People should not feel it is their right to go out and have sex with children” (Melanie Mark, Star Phoenix, 2000, p. A6).

Out of the 139 newspaper articles analyzed, only one story, in a small local paper, focused primarily on the exploiters, suggested heightening society’s awareness and vigilance in recognizing perpetrators:

Along ethnicity lines, 50 per cent come from a European descent, with 39 per cent coming from Indo-Asian, Southeast Asian or Chinese descent. These johns are also an educated and largely fully employed group as well, with 37 per cent having a diploma, technical program or some university experience. Perhaps scariest to Selby is the fact that the profile fits so many people whom society considers “normal” (Burnaby Now, 2006, p.15).

It seems that when reporters and other members of the media focus their stories on
the victims of exploitation, they are enabling the perpetrators to exploit again. In the newspaper articles analyzed, the reader could often paint a clear picture of who the victims were. Perhaps the readers’ minds became occupied with emotions for the victims, and the exploiters remained unnoticed. This type of storytelling, where the victim is the focal point, may also be a disservice to some of the perpetrators as well. Often exploiters are victims of abuse or exploitation themselves (Casey et. al., 1998). Although perpetrators need justice, those with a history of abuse or exploitation may benefit from supportive interventions as well. Furthermore, by blanking perpetrators’ identities and thereby hindering society from acting against youth exploitation, we may also be putting their youth at risk for exploitation. It appears that the strategy used by newspaper reporters of focusing on the vulnerable victims is not effective enough to engage society in supporting preventative interventions. It may be more effective for newspaper writers to include some identifying characteristics about the perpetrators, and reinforce to society that exploiters can be anyone, and that by not acting, all youth will remain at risk.

In the newspaper articles analyzed the most common ethnic identities were Aboriginal. Research shows Aboriginal youth are overrepresented in the sex trade in Canada. “[I]n some communities up to 90 percent of the youth involved [in sexual exploitation] are Aboriginal descent” (Senator Landon Pearson, Canadian Newswire, 2000, p.1). Aboriginal was also the ethnic identity most often repeated throughout newspaper articles. Is this because society may have already adopted the stereotype that Aboriginal people are a ‘troubled’ population, so it is okay to write about it in the newspaper? Furthermore, does the use of Aboriginal as a key word in several of the newspaper articles persuade the reader to believe that the sexual exploitation of youth is an Aboriginal problem? (Bondi, 2005) This is clearly suggested in one of the stories:
“70 per cent of these children being exploited are Aboriginal, so this is an Aboriginal issue. Period.” (Jane Runner, *Winnipeg Free Press*, 2007, p. A11)

News paper articles are generally directed to white and majority audiences; media can easily imply racism towards minority groups such as Aboriginal people as power is given to the majority groups (Harding, 2006). The semantics used to describe the Aboriginal youth in the newspaper articles could accentuate existing ethnic stereotypes, dependent upon the readers’ understanding of culture and social situations (Balirano, 2005).

The report says many "survival sex" victims are also Aboriginal, addicted to drugs when they started and are even more so now. *(Prince George Citizen*, 2007, p.1)

Very few newspaper articles offered any historical or social context as to why there was such a high number of Aboriginal youth falling victim to sexual exploitation. Residential school policy mandated that Aboriginal children be removed from their home and family; the residential school curriculum tried to assimilate Aboriginal children and youth by devaluing their culture, language and Aboriginal identity (Pearce et. al., 2008). The residential schools were also places where students were sexually abused by people in authority roles (Pearce et.al.) Intergenerational violence and abuse place Aboriginal children and youth at increased risk for sexual exploitation (Hay, 2004). Children who suffered abuse at residential schools may inflict similar abuse to their own children (Pearce et. al.); when parents use the same poor parenting behaviors and violent acts that they themselves suffered towards their children, they are perpetuating the cycle of violence (Hay).

The workers say about 98 per cent of the girls they work with are Aboriginal, and are trapped in a larger cycle of mental or sexual abuse, neglect, low self esteem and a dysfunctional family environment. While some girls are lured into the sex trade by pimps and predators, the vast majority end up there because they have few other options.
‘It's inter-generational. I know grandmothers who are working and now their grandchildren are working,’ Brian says.


Often resources for Aboriginal health focus on fixing the medical problem at hand, and do not look at the underlying causes (Adelson, 2005). In order to help create interventions to address the high number of Aboriginal youth being sexually exploited, society and health care professionals need cultural and contextual understanding (Pearce et al.; Adelson).
Chapter 4: Discussion

4.1 Discussion

It is important for society to be aware of the contextual factors driving the sexual exploitation of youth. La Roque (2005) explains that social, cultural, and economic revitalization are essential elements in changing society’s perception of victims of sexual exploitation; however, these elements must be in combination with a practical and multi-disciplinary approach to youth development. In the newspaper articles analyzed, the victims of youth sexual exploitation were more frequently mentioned than the perpetrators. Providing readers with ethnic information about the youth who are victims of sexual exploitation is only one small piece of the information that readers need to really understand the pervasiveness of the problem, and is troubling given the way it most often is used. Accurate and sufficient information may motivate society members to support and engage in interventions aimed at preventing and reducing the sexual exploitation of youth. Journalists can help readers gain a more complete and accurate understanding of sexual exploitation of youth and perhaps motivate action by focusing more identifying information on the perpetrators of exploitation. Context in written documents, such as newspaper articles, carry perspectives and influence which can ultimately drive social change in human rights and prevention of sexual exploitation of youth (Cortese, 2001).

While nurses and other health care professionals may not be able to directly alter how journalists report about sexual exploitation, they can act as advocates for improving reporting about youth sexual exploitation. Nursing is a trusted and honest profession that is aimed at promoting health and empowering people; perhaps if society sees nurses advocating for the identification of the exploiters and change in how the exploiters are dealt with, then society may follow. Nurses may also be effective in leading campaigns to heighten society’s awareness about
the sexual exploitation of youth. In these awareness campaigns, nurses and other health care professionals can bring attention to how victims are often perceived as problems and the exploiters go unnoticed. Health care professionals take part in all sorts of health related campaigns to help enhance society’s awareness. I believe that the sexual exploitation of youth makes most of society feel uncomfortable, therefore, the issue remains quiet, as it is easier to not deal with it. For society’s perception on this issue to change, and for the perpetrators of exploitation to be readily identified and receive due justice and help, the issue of youth sexual exploitation needs to be brought to society’s attention.

All youth may be at risk for sexual exploitation; however, the results from the newspaper articles analyzed suggest that those youth from ethnic minority backgrounds that are vulnerable to racism are at a heightened risk. Therefore, not only is it important for health care team members to be knowledgeable about the risk factors and warning signs of youth sexual exploitation, it is also important them to be culturally competent and safe with their client interventions and care. Aboriginal youth represent a significant proportion of sexually exploited youth in Canada (Adelson, 2005). In a survey of youth in British Columbia, between one third to one half of the youth who reported being victims of sexual exploitation identified as Aboriginal (Saewyc et. al., 2008). Thus, it is important for health care providers to be mindful of the role that culture represents when planning and implementing interventions for sexually exploited Aboriginal youth. Nurses and other health care professionals need to work with members of the Aboriginal community, and it may be important for Aboriginal youth to re-establish their cultural connections and find strength in their heritage (Adelson). Encouraging and re-kindling a sense of cultural pride is vital to attending to the problem of low self-esteem, which makes youth more vulnerable and susceptible to involvement in the sex trade (Pearce et. al., 2008).
4.2 Strengths and Limitations

This CDA used newspaper articles that were compiled from across Canada; it included newspaper sources from major cities such as Vancouver, and small rural towns. This included numerous events of youth sexual exploitation, from different populations in the various cities, the perspectives of society members living in the cities, and the writing styles of several different journalists, to ensure a broad and diverse data base. The newspaper articles were inclusive of a ten year span, which also helped to ensure a wide selection of articles. This research study utilized data collected by SARAVYC (2011); the team responsible for the original collection of newspaper articles are knowledgeable and experienced in collection strategies to ensure an optimal data sample and achievement of data saturation.

Utilizing CDA to examine the language and word choice used through the newspaper articles is a powerful method to gain understanding of society’s perception of the sexual exploitation of youth (Harding, 2006). However, the interpretation of this discourse may be influenced by my experience of working with sexually exploited youth in health care settings. Additionally, the information in these newspaper articles was interpreted from a nursing perspective, with nursing interventions in mind. The discourse surrounding the ethnicity of the victims and perpetrators of sexual exploitation might have been interpreted differently if conducted by someone from a different health care discipline, from social work, or law enforcement.

4.3 Conclusion and Recommendation for Future Research

The sexual exploitation of youth across Canada is a continuing problem (Hay, 2004). Society’s perception of the occurrence of sexual exploitation can be influenced by the word choice used in newspaper articles to describe exploitation events (Harwood & Anderson, 2002).
Nurses and health care providers need to work with the members of society, such as law enforcement, teachers, and parents, to raise awareness, correct stereotypes, and create and implement education, prevention and intervention strategies for sexually exploited youth (Saewyc et. al., 2007). Nurses need to take a leadership role in the reporting of youth sexual exploitation, and advocating for the exploiters to become visible to society. It is paramount for all parties involved in these processes to be cognizant and sensitive to the contextual and cultural factors surrounding sexual exploitation. I intend to take what I have learned from this process to my workplace and share my insights with my colleagues.

This CDA is part of a larger discourse analysis examining the sexual exploitation of Canadian youth (Saewyc, et al., in press; SARAVYC, 2011). I hope that the results from SARAVYC’s work and this additional analysis will truly help raise awareness about the need for intervention.
References


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http://www.iub.edu/~tchslot/part2/McIntosh%20White%20Privilege.pdf


